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to the church as it exists, and certainly not to the church as it has existed and wrought. The church was the organ and exponent of love for centuries, while the State embodied only force and oppression of the weak by the strong. The church fed the hungry and clothed the naked and nursed the sick, when the State had nothing but contempt or neglect for them. The church built schools and provided teachers for the poor, as well as the rich, when the State had forgotten even what the ancient State knew and practiced as its educational duty. The church, as the corporate form of Christianity, has bestowed upon the modern State all that is best and finest in its spirit and activity. No changes which the future may bring can dim the brightness of these services.

The spirit that is working in the world and whose record is the history of man, never comes to destroy, but always to fulfil; not one jot or tittle of the true message and significance of the church shall pass away till all be fulfilled. But there is also a law that one form must increase and the other decrease. If the State should ever, in the course of ages or centuries, undertake all the labors of love which hitherto have been chiefly performed by the church, the Divine will not have vanished nor been diminished, but will only have clothed itself with a new and more adequate form.

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STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Among many students and at many institutions of learning an unfortunate misconception of college spirit has long prevailed. Too much stress has been laid upon the outward things: some students, if their conduct be a true criterion, would apparently conceive of college spirit as consisting in the disorderly rush and a general spirit of boisterousness on public occasions, in the inconsiderate hazing of fellow-students,

or the ill-advised pilfering of the tableware of fashionable cafés; other students of a more responsible character would be inclined to denominate as college spirit the yell and the song and the general enthusiasm that goes with the football game or the field day. But if you were to approach the man of saner mind and healthier judgment—the man who leads the way in student activities, and whose word is as the voice of one having authority in the councils of his fellows—if you were to approach this type of the college man, and ask him candidly what college spirit is, he would hardly be inclined to accept the first or the second view just mentioned: he would probably regard the rush and all else akin thereto as a form of college barbarism, and while he would no doubt assign to the college yell a very high and worthy place in student life, it would not be as college spirit itself, but rather as a healthy expression thereof. Then he would put into two words his own conception of college spirit as *unselfish service*—unselfish service to his alma mater, the doing of everything in his power to advance her welfare, and the leaving undone all those things, however innocent in and of themselves, that would mar her good name. The leaders, if not the general student body, in our higher institutions of learning to-day, are coming to feel that in their keeping is the honor of the university, and that the charge is too sacred a one to be lightly exposed to danger. At the University of California, recent years have witnessed a remarkable growth in this sense of responsibility on the part of the students. They have participated in a rush, perhaps of the harmless order; and the next day have seen it proclaimed in headlines throughout the land as “a riot at the university.” The experience has been painful but not fruitless. Out of it all there has come a finer love for the university, and a truer devotion to her interests; the inner meaning of college spirit has laid hold upon the minds and hearts of the student body as never before. The natural result has followed: there has been a steady and persistent advance in student self-control; and in the wake of student self-control has followed almost inevitably a large measure of student self-government. The members of the faculty are not really anxious to exercise a

domineering sway over the students; it is not pleasant to play the part of the policeman; the duty is one imposed perforce upon the instructor by the wilfulness or thoughtlessness of the student. Once the students themselves give evidence of an honest desire to serve the highest interests of the college, and of the capacity to give effect to the desire, the faculty is ready enough to retire and leave the field of government largely in the hands of the students.

This is in broad terms what has taken place of late at the University of California. It may not be amiss now to explain the process in more detail. Just how has it come about? Naturally the first condition of a successful student self-government, as of any government in which large numbers have a share, is the creation of an effective public opinion. This has been no easy task at Berkeley. The absence of a dormitory system and the widely scattered homes of the students have been formidable obstacles. The lodging houses and fraternities are distributed throughout the length and breadth of Berkeley; and a considerable number of the students live in the neighboring cities of Oakland and Alameda, or even across the bay in San Francisco. Various agencies, however, have combined to offset this and other serious obstacles, and to build up an effective student public opinion.

And first among these agencies I would mention the honor societies, notably the senior honor society. Its chief motive for being is the encouragement of unselfish service to the university. This ideal of service is the very soul of the organization, the source of its power and energy, the splendid purpose which stimulates the members to press on in their high calling. The power of the organization for good is indicated in part by the kind of men who make up its membership—men of different ages and different walks in life, yet all of one mind in their common love for the university. Members are of three classes: senior students who have shown signally their desire to serve the university unselfishly and have met with some measure of success therein; alumni whose interest in their alma mater has continued beyond the day of graduation, and who are always willing to do for her what they may;

and members of the faculty whose field of service to the university is not confined within the walls of the class room, but who welcome every further opportunity to minister to her welfare, and who are above all in cordial sympathy and close touch with the lives of the students. It will be readily conceded that this combination of what may be called the service-loving members of the student body, the alumni, and the faculty, has within it the possibility of great good to the university. The society has given and is now giving splendid impetus to the up-building of a sane and sensible student public opinion. Its student members, stimulated by conference one with another, and guided in part by the counsel of their elder brothers, serve as a nucleus around which the wider and more comprehensive student public opinion may grow and gather strength. The meetings take the form of dinners held twice monthly. And what a goodly company it is that gathers about the board! From the alumni come two or three superior judges, a leading lawyer and doctor from San Francisco, a journalist, and a group of young business men; and from the faculty there come the professors of English and history, and mathematics and zoölogy, all of them eager to know "their boys" better; and among the student representatives are numbered the football and the baseball captain, an athlete or two from the track, the leading debaters, and the editors of the college journals. When the repast is over and the chairs pushed back and the cigars lighted, there is free and earnest discussion of college problems. Everyone says what he honestly thinks. All questions are attacked in the spirit of men searching for the truth. And when the truth has been found it is gladly accepted, and there is an understanding, which becomes the public opinion of the senior members, and is carried by them to their fellows in the university. It is all done quietly and unostentatiously. The men leave the meetings increased in the wisdom that follows an honest search for the truth; and as they go in and out among their fellows in the daily round of student life, they are as leaven in the lump—a wise public opinion is gathering headway.

The fact that there is but one senior honor society is a great

boon to the university. The existence of two or more such organizations is conceded to be an affliction in some eastern colleges. The one society is immeasurably more useful than two or three, whose influence for good is materially hampered by their unfortunate rivalry. It must be stated, however, that there is a junior honor society and other bodies, with whom there is no natural call to rivalry, whose efforts are directed to the accomplishment of the same good end sought by the senior order.

It is then with this little company of devoted undergraduates in the honor societies that a sane and effective student public opinion has its beginning. Thence the movement extends to the whole class. In this larger group, a public opinion becomes a possibility largely through the operation of the system called senior control; which means simply that the men of the senior class feel peculiarly responsible for the right conduct of all the student activities in which the undergraduate body participates, especially for guarding against anything that would be detrimental to the university. The senior class thus acts in a sense as a brake against the hasty and oftentimes irresponsible actions of the lower classes. The system came into vogue two or three years ago by the mutual consent of the classes. The freshmen were somewhat hesitant about it at first; but when they became convinced that the seniors were not seeking to assume a domineering attitude, they readily gave their sanction to the movement. Precedent seems now to have made senior control a permanency. That they may act wisely and effectively, the seniors feel the need of arriving at a reasonable uniformity of judgment on current questions. This end they have accomplished through the institution of what is known as "senior singing." It provides for a weekly assemblage at which all senior men and only senior men are welcome. At the first meeting of the semester, a leader of senior singing is elected, who is able to start the college songs and preside informally. Between songs the men take up for careful consideration various student problems, and after free discussion usually arrive at an understanding, and agree upon a course of action to be followed consistently. For a long

time the meetings were held at a place dear through long association to all college men—the steps of old North Hall. But the gatherings here were naturally subject to frequent interruption during the winter season. The success of the senior singings has, therefore, been vastly increased since the recent erection of Senior Hall, a building reserved exclusively for the men of the graduating class.

This hall is a structure erected entirely of redwood logs, and equipped with furniture in keeping. There is a large loafing and meeting room where the daily papers and the current magazines are always available. At one end is a huge fireplace, piled high with logs in winter time, which adds greatly to the comfort of the room as a place of assemblage and recreation, where the men can read and talk and experience the joys of good fellowship. The men of the graduating class have here opportunity to know one another, the first step in the development of a student opinion. Senior singings, as I have said, are now regularly held in the hall with a very gratifying increase in the attendance and general interest. Shortly after the completion of the structure the plan was inaugurated of holding a senior dance once a month in place of the singing. On the last such occasion the President of the University, the Dean of the College of Mining, and several other leading members of the faculty were present, and participated with the students in the discussion of moot questions. The seniors have responded in large numbers to the call of their president to make these monthly dinners a standing engagement. Through the combined agency then of the senior singings, the special monthly dinners, and the informal gatherings of the men in groups during all hours of the day in Senior Hall, the senior men have cultivated an advanced public opinion, and have been able to act as leaders to the other classes.

What the honor societies and the senior meetings have done for the development of public opinion in smaller circles, the student mass meeting has done for the undergraduate body at large. The name is sufficiently descriptive—it is a meeting called by the president of the associated students, open to

all men in the university, held in the largest auditorium on the campus, and largely attended. Here matters of student procedure and policy are freely discussed from the floor by any students who choose to speak. Certain moot questions are first taken up, and men who have carefully gone over the ground in advance, lead in a thorough discussion of the topic. Afterward everyone is invited to speak as he is moved; the response is generally very gratifying. It may not be amiss to refer briefly to some of the topics taken up at the last meeting. The question of a student hour was one. The experience of the students in endeavoring to arrange class meetings had shown that there was practically not a single hour of the week, with the exception of Saturday afternoon, that was not occupied by university exercises of some character. After extended discussion it was declared the sense of the student body that there should be once a week, at least, a student hour free of all lectures and recitations. This action has been reported to the President of the University and the faculty schedule committee; and there is now every reason to believe that before long a student hour will be granted. At this same meeting the question of the justice of a recent suspension of a student was taken up. The suspension had been recommended by a student committee (of which more is to be said later) to the President of the University. A petition had later been circulated urging that the sentence be recalled and the student be readmitted to college on the ground that his offense had not been serious enough to warrant suspension. The chairman of the student committee was asked to explain the grounds on which the suspension had been recommended. This he did; and speakers from the floor made careful presentation of the other side of the case. After the whole situation had been canvassed, the consensus of opinion was clearly in favor of endorsing the action of the committee.

A remarkably interesting incident occurred just at the close of the meeting. A student in the audience took the floor and said that a dispute during the day over respective rights had led to a fistic encounter between a freshman and a sophomore. The affair had not been especially serious, but he under-

stood that the college daily was preparing to publish an account of it in the morning; the outside press in the vicinity would take up and exaggerate the incident, he felt sure, and eventually it would go all over the State proclaimed in headlines as "a riot at the university." That was what had happened in similar cases in the past, he said; it would happen in this case. He therefore moved that the editor of the college daily, who was in the audience, be instructed to "strike the story out, even if he had to leave a whole column blank"—it was then 10.30 P. M. The response to this appeal was good to behold; a dozen men were on their feet at once demanding that it was the plain duty of the students to see to it that the harmful "story" was suppressed. And the editor so promised before he left the hall.

This great gathering of students was, I firmly believe, one of the most eventful meetings in the history of the university. As expressive of the faith which the students have in the institution, let me quote a recent editorial utterance of the college daily paper: "During one of the most critical periods of last term the president of the student body called a men's mass meeting in Harmon Gymnasium that did more to give the student body unity of interests than any rally California ever held. The fellows began at that time to realize that student opinion might become something leading to tangible results. Some of the problems that confronted us at that time were settled effectively as a result of the meeting. . . ." The cases that have been cited above are illustrative of some of the problems that were thus effectively settled. They indicate further how well the mass meeting is helping to form an effective student public opinion. It is the youngest of the three agencies mentioned which are serving this good end. The movement starts among a few leaders gathered in the honor societies, spreads then to the graduating class through the senior singings and the instrumentality of Senior Hall, and finally reaches the whole male student body in the mass meeting. President Wheeler in his last biennial report expresses it as his conviction that the conjunction of Senior Hall and the student mass meeting are "likely to solve the problem of how to create

a public opinion among the students, even better than could the much commended dormitory."

To sum up the situation briefly, it may be said with assurance, I think, that a real and effective public opinion has been steadily forming in the student mind. It is a public opinion that promises well for the future good of the university. The students generally are seeing things in their right perspective; there has been steadily opening before them a vision of the fuller and truer meaning of college spirit; and they have happily come to measure contemplated actions by their probable effect for good or for ill on the university. Not that we do not still have an occasional outbreak; not that the students do not now and then in a moment of haste yield to the old instincts and pay homage to the god of the old-time college spirit; but certainly the leaders, if not the general student body, have come to a realization of what things are worth while, and have voluntarily annulled many of the old traditions of disorder. First the old Bourdon celebration—an annual burning in effigy of the author of a despised text-book, which regularly ended in a general class rush and a disorderly outbreak—was done away with. Soon after, the Charter Hill rush was likewise ended. It had long been a regular custom on the eve of Charter day (March 23) for the freshmen to chalk their class numerals on a large scale upon the hillside, west of the campus. It was the joy of the sophomore to stop this proceeding. The inevitable result was a clash on the hills. Perhaps it was not very harmful in the old days. But when the classes came to number several hundred each, the meeting on the hillside was apt to be not altogether gentle, and injuries of a serious character to life and limb were likely to be the outcome. The faculty tried to end the rush. In a measure they succeeded; they at least reduced the numbers of those participating. But somehow the more daring spirits found that the playing of electric lights on the hillside and the prospect of collision with the faculty as well as the opposing class added a keener relish to the evening's entertainment. It was an achievement of a rare order to come out of an adventure like that with a whole skin. So it was only when the students them-

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selves resolved that the rush should stop that it did stop. Men who found a peculiar joy in daring the faculty, were not willing to face an enraged student public opinion. The freshmen and sophomores called separate meetings and, guided by the counsel of the upper classmen, agreed to join in the work of erecting on Charter Hill instead of their class numerals a large cement "C" standing for California. In that task they spent Charter Day. All morning from the streets of Berkeley you might have seen a goodly company of men plodding up and down the hillside carrying cement to their fellows who were shaping the "C" on the summit. It rained all day too; but the men did not mind that; there is a certain inspiration in doing something worth while, against which the elements cannot prevail. Then the emblem was painted gold—California's color. On the eve of the last intercollegiate football game it was illuminated with electric lights; and in the darkness of the night, with the hillsides invisible, it appeared an immense "C" suspended in the heavens, a symbol of the peace restored between the classes and of a truer devotion to the college. So ended the Charter Hill rush. So have ended many of the old traditions of disorder.

I shall mention one more incident as evidence of the presence and effectiveness of a student public opinion at the University of California. In the spring of 1903 there was a track rally. At its close large numbers of students under the influence of an over-exuberant enthusiasm for victory, invaded the town of Berkeley and boarded the local train. One thing led to another. Hardly knowing what they did, the students took full possession of the train and a thoroughly disreputable disturbance resulted, though the press report of a "train wreck" was of course an absurd exaggeration. But the very next morning—and this is the point I desire to emphasize—the students themselves, before the faculty could take any action, had called a meeting and had there by common consent admitted that the action of the preceding evening was wrong. There was no disposition to assume an independent or indifferent attitude, or to shirk the responsibility. One speaker tried to shift the blame to the freshman class and a dozen men were

on their feet in an instant protesting and insisting that "we are all responsible for this misconduct; we should all share the results for better or for worse." Resolutions were adopted deploring the occurrence of the evening before, and steps were taken for raising subscriptions to pay the railroad company in full for the damage. I do not know of a better example of an alert student public opinion of a right order, spontaneously expressed, and effective in bringing about immediate action.

It would appear from what has been said thus far that the progress of student public opinion has resulted in a very gratifying development of student self-control, and has thereby prepared the way for a considerable measure of student self-government. It now remains to explain more definitely the working of this student self-government. Some reference has already been made to the system of senior control. It implies a responsibility on the part of the men of the senior class for the maintenance of good order in the university. The seniors, with their larger measure of experience and their maturer judgment, are regarded as the natural leaders. It is their right, or rather their duty, to use their personal influence for the suppression of disorders of any kind liable to occur on the occasion of class meetings, elections, or other student events. If the trouble be in the nature of a rush, for instance, they warn the underclassmen to desist, and if warning be insufficient, they sometimes take occasion to remove the offenders forcibly. It is generally considered best, however, to avoid anything like a resort to violence; particularly flagrant offenders are brought to justice through another channel; they are hailed before the Undergraduate Students' Affairs Committee. This committee has its being under the sanction of an organization representative of the student body as a whole—the Associated Students of the University of California. Its members, five in number, and all seniors, are appointed annually by the president of the Associated Students. The aim is to select representative men of ability, good sense, and soundness of judgment, who can be counted on to render impartial judgment on questions that concern their fellow-students. This year, for example, the committee consisted of the editor of the students' weekly maga-

zine, the president of the graduating class, two seniors of wide experience and proved ability in committee work, and the president of the Associated Students, acting ex-officio as chairman. It is the function of this committee to summon before it students accused of an infraction of well-recognized rules of the university; to examine them thoroughly, to hear their own statement of the case, and to compare it with what other witnesses have to say, to collect and carefully weigh all other evidence pertinent to the case, and finally to make recommendations based thereon to the President of the University. It is singular testimony to the wisdom and good sense characterizing these recommendations thus far that every one of them has been received with favor and acted upon promptly by the university authorities. The first noteworthy case was that of a man who had for some time been systematically pilfering from the lockers of the students in one of the college buildings; at last an unusually large theft led to careful investigations and the culprit was detected. He was immediately summoned before the Undergraduate Students' Affairs Committee. The evidence against him was presented and he confessed. The committee recommended that he be expelled and presented the reasons therefor to the authorities, who promptly dismissed the offender. A case of equal interest occurred last semester. The offense was a particularly flagrant one connected with rushing. The following recommendations of the Students' Committee, as submitted to the President of the University, are explanatory of the incident: "That Mr. —, a sophomore in this university, be suspended for the remainder of this semester, and that this action be made public. These recommendations are based upon the following charges, which Mr. — before this committee admitted to be true: First, that he wilfully took part in two rushes this semester, knowing that the wish of the President of the University and of the senior class was to the contrary; second, that he repeatedly returned to take part in the rush of August 24th, after having been repeatedly warned by seniors to desist, and in open defiance of their requests; third, that he helped to precipitate the rush of September 5th, by assisting in the stealing of the

ballot box, and that he took an active part in the rush that followed; fourth, that he apparently has no clearly defined idea as to the right and wrong of the question of rushing and that he regards the prestige of class to be of higher value than the honor of the university. For these reasons the committee believes that Mr. — should be allowed to sever his connection with the university for the rest of this semester." The offending student was suspended.

The case traced from start to finish is an admirable illustration of the excellent fashion in which the different elements in the system of student self-government work together. First of all, the senior men, acting under the authority conferred upon them by the now well-established system of senior control, warned the offender repeatedly that rushing was a defiance of university regulations and urged him to desist. That failing to have the desired effect, the man was summoned for a hearing before the Students' Committee, the evidence for and against him was impartially considered, and the recommendation of suspension was submitted to the President and acted upon. It was felt by some afterward that the action had been hasty and ill-advised, and a petition was therefore circulated and signed by many students requesting for several named reasons the reinstatement of the offender. The committee thereupon explained at length the grounds for its action at a meeting of the senior honor society; and the members, after a thorough consideration of the case, justified the stand of the committee as wise and commendable. Finally the matter was taken up in the great student mass meeting; everyone was given opportunity to speak as he was moved; the whole case was thoroughly worked over; and the upshot of it all was a resolution adopted with few dissenting voices that it was the sense of the students of the university that the committee should be upheld.

These recommendations, it is to be noted, came from the man's fellow-students. Not a single member of the faculty interfered one way or the other. The whole conduct of the case is an admirable illustration of an effective, workable form of student self-government. Disturbances of this order used

to be handled by a Faculty-Students' Affairs Committee; that committee still exists and still has nominal functions, but it has been very largely relieved of its work by the prompt and successful way in which the Students' Committee has dealt with troubles similar to those mentioned. It is not a pleasant thing for the faculty to wield the big stick; it much prefers that a serious-minded group of students should look after the maintenance of peace and order in the undergraduate body. And so the Students' Committee, while having no official recognition and no legal status on the books of the university, is yet doing a great work, and doing it well. The students are able to ferret out evidence more successfully than professors, and their decisions are more likely to be acceptable to the general student body.

Plans are on foot at present to render the Undergraduate Students' Affairs Committee an even more effective organ than it now is. The president of the Associated Students hopes to enlarge the scope of its activities so as to make it serve the purposes of a grand jury for the student world. In fact it has already begun to act in this capacity. Rumors have been afloat to the effect that there has been some misappropriation of funds in the management of one of the college papers. The committee has therefore called before it parties able to furnish inside testimony, is giving the persons implicated an opportunity to clear themselves of suspicion, and is providing for a thorough hearing of the whole case. Similar action will be taken on other questions. The effort will be made to cleanse the whole public life of the student body, and to insist upon a straight and honorable management of all student activities.

It is my hope that what has been said in this discussion may serve to convey some notion of the nature and growth of student self-government at the University of California, and of the student public opinion and self-control whereon it rests. It has all meant much for the university; it is destined to mean more. Highly favored is that university whose alumni have their alma mater always in memory and who delight to do her honor; but more richly blessed is the university whose students, while they are students, and before they have

left the college halls, conceive a right perspective of what makes for her upbuilding and her highest good—more to be desired are they than beauty of campus or stateliness of buildings. During the trying days of last April and May, when earthquake and fire had smitten this western land of ours so sorely, the students of California responded loyally to the call to service, and gave generously of their time and talent to those who were in need. And with the doing of duty there descended upon them a new vision of the beauty of college spirit as the spirit of unselfish service, of whole-souled devotion to the university, standing for what is good and true. When the students have taken unto themselves this high concept and are ready to act in accordance therewith, who shall deny them the right of self-government? For theirs will be the rule of justice and wisdom and righteousness.

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THE ELEVATION OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN'S IDEALS.

There is probably no subject of more vital concern to society than the ideals of its youth. In estimating their importance, a large place is properly assigned to those held by young women, since to them is entrusted almost entirely, especially in America, the education of children both in the home and the school. Not only will college girls guide their own lives by their ideals but they will impress those ideals upon their associates and upon the children whom as mothers or as teachers they are training. It is therefore of fundamental importance to society that the ideal of its women should be a worthy one, and a part of education might well be devoted to this end alone. We may even go so far as to say that if our education does not succeed in implanting a high ideal, it is falling short in the most fundamental respect of all.